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ABSTRACT

When Ethiopia launched its National Literacy Campaign (NLC) in July 1979, it was announced that illiteracy would be removed from the urban areas of the country by 1982 and from rural Ethiopia by 1987. By the end of the 12th round of the NLC in February 1985, 16.9 million youths and adults had been covered by the campaign, and 12 million (almost half of them female) had earned literacy certificates after passing a test. These impressive results do not mean, however, that the program does not still have a long way to go. The NLC's most important characteristic may be its mode of mobilization. The program is based on a two-layered structure, i.e., a flexible campaign structure undergirded by a permanent institutional structure. Emphasis of the program is on literacy and the dialectic role between development and literacy. Commitment from the program participants is obtained through a series of pledges to eradicate illiteracy through teaching or learning. Underlying the NLC's pledges and slogans is a system of structures and incentives and disincentives. Institutional arrangements for demand and use of adult education services at the field level exist in the form of Peasants' Associations (PAs) and Urban Dwellers' Associations (UDAs). Postliteracy instruction is provided through reading rooms, radio broadcasts, night schools, and distance education. The program is funded jointly by the government and people. It is concluded that the program serves as a lesson for those countries that are waiting for ideal conditions to launch literacy campaigns. Endnotes are provided. (MN)

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ADULT LITERACY FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA: A REVIEW OF POLICY AND PERFORMANCE AT MID-POINT

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ADULT LITERACY FOR DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA:

A REVIEW OF POLICY AND PERFORMANCE AT MID-POINT

In 1974, the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was overthrown by the army and the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) was inaugurated. The NDR promised to destroy both the soul and the structures of the old fuedo-bourgeois society and promised to bring about a transformation of both culture and technology. Ignorance, ill-health, and exploitation would be banished from the land. People would democratically participate in creating a new Ethiopia.

Revolutionary Ethiopia was a nation in a hurry. It chose the strategy of doing "development by campaign" so as to mobilize the aspirations, participation and resources of the masses themselves in their own behalf. Adult literacy would play a central role in the fulfilment of the hopes of the new revolution. The strategy of "development by campaign" was matched by the strategy of "literacy by campaign."

On July 8, 1979, a National Literacy Campaign (NLC) was launched that would teach Ethiopians both literacy and functional skills to enable them to obtain higher productivity from their fields and factories. By 1982, illiteracy would be removed from the urban areas and by 1987 from rural Ethiopia.

The discovery that the population of Ethiopia was larger than first estimated; the terrible draught and famine of the early 1980s; and the continuing civil strife made the fulfilment of the dream more distant than first expected. Targets had to be readjusted for the eradication of illiteracy: 1984 for urban

areas; and 1992 for rural areas. Yet, by end of the 12th round of the NLC in February 1985, 16.9 million youth and adults had been covered by the campaign; and 12 million, almost half of them female, had earned their certificates after sitting for a test. Some 8.1 million men and women were involved in post-literacy programs on a regular basis.

Government reports (1), accounts written by Ethiopian officials (2), and international citations and awards won by the Ethiopian campaign (3) all commend the NLC as an effort central to the revolutionary development process; and as a campaign that was first able to command the political will of the power elite and was then able to sustain it. It has been praised for an administrative structure that provides a central vision and direction and is at the same time able to interface with mass organizations of the people to make the NLC a genuine mass campaign.

An account is often taken of the organizational innovations made within the campaign: the Awaraja Pedagogical Centers (APC´s), the Basic Technology Centers (BTC´s), the Community Skill Training Centers (CSTC´s), and the Basic Development Education Centers (BDEC´s). Mention is also made of the fact that the campaign has been able to collaborate with other institutions of education and extension: the educational radio, distance (or correspondence) education and the night schools.

Finally, the NLC takes satisfaction in numbers of adults made literate and of those who are regularly engaged in the post-

literacy programs. Claims are also made about changes in the culture of Ethiopia, especially changes in the identities of Ethiopian women, and about the colossal human potential that has been created waiting to be put to work.

During December 23, 1985 to January 11, 1986, the author worked with the policy makers in the Ministry of Education of the Government of Ethiopia in conducting a policy review of the NLC as it reached its mid-point (4). The claims made in behalf of the NLC are definitely not fiction; but that does not make the road ahead by any means less difficult (5).

The context of the NLC

Efforts in behalf of literacy promotion before the revolution (6) are today dismissed as mere propaganda. The Chilalo project (7) and the Unesco/UNDP project dealing with functional literacy (8) are seen to have made positive contributions to the technology of planning, implementation and evaluation but not to have made any material difference in the levels of literacy or of development in Ethiopia. Without doubt, the history of adult literacy for development in Ethiopia in recent times is the history of the NLC launched by the Government of Ethiopia after the Revolution of 1974.

Ideology, development policy and plans for literacy promotion

Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign is clearly a child of the new development ideololoy. The National Democratic Revolution of 1974 did indeed seek to destroy the economic and social structures of Haile Selassie's imperial Ethiopia. The new mission was to inaugurate an egalitarian, democratic and

socialist society. Both culture and technology were the objectives of revolutionary transformation. Productivity was the leit motif of the total process of change.

Mass education was to be the instrument of change both of culture and technology for higher productivity. The program of the NDR announced in 1976, had this to say about education:

"There will be an educational program that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses. Such a program will aim at intensifying the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken. All necessary encouragement will be given for the development of science and technology, the arts and literature. All the necessary efforts will be made to free the diversified cultures of imperialist domination, and from their own reactionary characteristics. Opportunity will be provided to allow them to develop, advance and grow with the aid of modern means and resources."

In the Ten-Year Perspective Plan for Development (TYPP), 1984-94, adult literacy was given a place of pride in promoting socialist consciousness and scientific consciousness. The Development Plan stated that : "in order to develop consciousness and cultural and technical knowledge for increased production, it is necessary to wipe out illiteracy and to provide continuing education and skill training on large scale."

Understandably, "the eradication of illiteracy and the encouragement of the use of literacy skills in a variety of post-literacy programs" is one of the major objectives of TYPP. The

Development Plan visualizes "a literate adult society capable of participating in a new way in the processes of development through the exercise of the skills of literacy and numeracy and a growing command of science and technology."

Institution building and networking

The institutional response to adult education policies in Ethiopia has been most impressive. A separate department of Adult Education has been established at the center in the Ministry of Education.

Within the adult education department, there is a highly articulated planning and implementation system for the National Literacy Campaign. A National Literacy Campaign Coordinating Committee (NLCCC) has been superimposed on the DAE which has become the secretariat for the NLCCC. The latter is the policy making body in regard to the literacy campaign and has on it 28 representatives from government agencies, mass organizations, and professional and religious institutions. The committee meets once or twice a year with the Minister of Education in the Chair. An Executive Committee of the NLCCC meets every fortnight to handle the day-to-day problems and decisions.

The NLCCC has four subcommittees: Educational Materials, Procurement and Distribution Committee, headed by the Minister of Transport and Communication; Recruitment, Training and Placement Committee, headed by Head of the Department of Adult Education; Propaganda and Aid Coordinating Committee, headed by the Minister of Information and National Guidance; and Data Collection Supervision and Certification Committee, headed by the chief of

the Central Statistical Office. A variety of functions are performed by the DAE through what it calls panels rather than sections to perhaps emphasise inter-section assumption of responsibility and mobility.

The four committees at the center are replicated from the center, through the 14 major regions and the capital region of Addis Ababa, 106 provinces known as awarajas and 588 districts knowns as weredas. The 20,000 Peasants´ Associations (PA´s) and Urban Dwellers´ Associations (UDA´s) provide the grassroot organization of the campaign. They employ Literacy Campaign Officers that look after the literacy centers, reading rooms and listening forums, and supervise literacy instructors in literacy centers and sub-centers located in small and distant communities.

Mobilization for the campaign

The most important feature of the Ethiopian literacy effort may be its mode of mobilization. It seems to be two-layered: A flexible campaign structure is undergirded by a permanent institutional structure. Ethiopia follows the strategy of "development by campaign". But the campaign is more than slogans and is reinforced by an extensive network of institutions. The national literacy effort was also "literacy by campaign" and once again was underlined by a set of supporting institutions and structures.

In December 1974, the first Zemecha (Campaign) was launched: a "National Work Campaign for Development Through Cooperation" "to work together for the betterment of Ethiopia in a spirit of egalitarianism." Until June 1976, 60,000 young

people, secondary and university students and teachers, in addition to conducting many other development activities in the field, registered some three-quarters of a million people for literacy classes of whom 160,000 became fully literate. Literacy work was found to be a method of organizing rural communities in their own behalf for the amelioration of their own terrible living conditions. Literacy teaching materials were developed and many other lessons were learned that would be useful later to the NLC.

The Second Zemecha, "The Campaign for Economic and Cultural Development" again emphasised literacy and the dialectical role between development and literacy reinforced by the Second Zemecha continues to endure.

Ethiopians have understood that motivations for literacy and development are not spontaneous and have to be mobilized. A tremendous amount of emotional energy was spent to make the NLC the nation's business. The songs, the slogans, the banners, the rallies, were all used to whip up enthusiasm for learning and teaching. The mobilizers went from house to house to register illiterates. Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam himself taught literacy classes and gave away big and colourful banners to villages that declared themselves fully liberated from illiteracy.

Three pledges have been used to command commitment from participants: Every Ethiopian will be literate and will remain literate; I pledge to eradicate illiteracy through teaching or learning; and Let the educated teach and the uneducated learn.

As was indicated earlier, these pledges and signs and

slogans are undergirded by structures, and systems of incentives and disincentives. These structures were not created especially for the literacy campaign but are part of the political organization that was completed during 1976-78.

The institutional arrangements for demand and utilization of adult education services at the field level exist in the form of Peasants´ Associations and Urban Dwellers´ Associations. There are 19,867 PA´s adding up to a total membership of 5,541,280 for the All Ethiopian Peasants Association. The number of UDA´s or Kebeles are 284.

The PA´s and UDA´s play an important part in the literacy campaign. They collect money; they recruit learners and teachers; they ensure that learners attend classes to avoid fines; and they administer examinations and keep records. These local associations also have the power to levy fines and to imprison absentees. Those unsymapathetic to the regime point out that these prisons are not empty! These local associations also run cooperative shops and one can not make use of these shops for the essentials of life unless one is a participant.

Institutions for the delivery of functional skills

The NLC has established some innovative institutions for teaching functional skills. The Burayu Basic Technology Center is engaged in research and development of appropriate technology which can be introduced into the rural areas. The outputs of the Burayu Center are fed into the Basic Technology Centers (BTC´s) and Community Skill Training Centers (CSTC´s) at the Awaraja level, though the Burayu center uses other channels

and modes of dissemination as well. From CSTC´s the linkages are supposed to go to the Basic Development Education Centers (BDEC´s) which are conceptualized as institutions at the community level for the dissemination of skills of productivity and promotion of culture. These institutional networks are still far from being fully functional, however.

Program development functions within the campaign

Some of the programs developed within the NLC have been already consolidated as institutions such as the CSTC´s and BDEC´s. Currently, the program development functions are seen in terms only of conducting the two literacy rounds each year, producing materials to keep teachers supplied, and keeping the CSTC´s and some of the BDEC´s running. There is neither time nor staff capability to do serious program planning that would fill obvious gaps between intention and reality and which could interface with other agencies of development extension to implement the overall purposes of the NLC.

Curriculum development within the NLC

The Awaraja Pedagogical Center (APC) is supposed to play an important part in curriculum development and training both in formal and nonformal education but has been able to do little in reality. All curriculum work has, therefore, been done within the DAE in the Ministry of Education.

Literacy curriculum must include teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. That is, however, only an intermediate end. The ultimate end is to teach functionality for the

transformation of both culture and technology.

Literacy within the NLC is equated with the third grade. It is considered sufficient to read and understand newspapers, magazines and wall sheets; to compute areas of land, quantities of materials, crop yields, seed and fertilizer requirements; to understand weights and measures and calculate prices; to make budgets and work out taxes; and to write letter to friends and family and to local and other government agencies, asking for information, or for seeking advice, or stating a case.

Languages of literacy. The NDR is in favor of cultural renaissance for all the nationalities of Ethiopia. Language is one instrument of this cultural identity. There are more than 80 languages in Ethiopia, but fifteeen were chosen as languages of literacy and together cover most of the people of Ethiopia. All languages other than Amharic were unwritten. They are now written in the Amharic alphabet. This will mean an advantage for those wishing to transfer to the formal school system where the language of instruction is Amharic.

Curriculum materials in use

As translated into materials, the curriculum appears as a package of the following essential items: a set of 28 wall charts printed on both sides of 14 sheets, 17" x 24" in size, with spiral binding and a hole to hang them from a nail, to teach alphabets or syllabary as appropriate, and numbers upto 19; a first reader of 60 pages of newsprint, using adequately large typeface and with illustrations well done that treats subjects such as agriculture, health, cooperation, conservation and concern for the common

man, printed every year to facilitate revisions ; a handwriting book; a primer in Amharic for oral instruction of Amharic; an arithmetic book dealing with the four basic operations; and a teachers guide. These are followed by practical readers in cattle rearing, poultry, hygiene, soil science, vegetable gardening, etc.

During the first three years of the campaign, 1979-82, 23 million textbooks were printed in fifteen nationality languages as follows:

Amharic	14,603,260
Oromigna	4,844,924
Tigrigna	1,932,590
Wolayitigna	845,874
Somaligna	523,679
Hadyigna	151,950
Kembatigna	85,260
Gedeogna	47,912
Tigre	162,165
Kunamigna	31,835
Sidamigna	138,415
Siltigna	100,825
Afarigna	115,520
Keffamochigna	53,485
Sahogna	34,390
Total	23,671,484

Some fifty separate titles have been produced. This has been possible to do inspite of the severe paper shortages. The

Canadian Organization for Development (CODE) has helped with paper. SIDA has helped with printing materials and printing professionals.

Media of information and culture in support of the NLC

Ethiopia is perhaps the only country in the Third World that has its separate and indepedent educational radio broadcasting. There are eleven broadcasting stations which ensure almost complete national coverage.

The rural newspaper. At present, rural newspapers are produced in five nationality languages. Typically, a newspaper issue is 4 pages of 12" x 10". Periodicity is irregular. When published, materials serve a variety of interests: news about leaders, health, afforestation, family planning, literacy and human interest stories are all included. Illustrations include both line-drawings and half-tone photographs.

How literacy is taught

The official age range for enrollment in literacy classes is 8 to 60 years. In reality students have been found to vary from 3 to the very old.

Three different types of classes are run: beginners' classes; remedial classes; and post-literacy classes.

Beginners' classes; for new recruits to the literacy programs; 6 days a week, 3 hours a day. Adults learn to read and write in 312 hours of instruction: 240 hours of basic skills plus 72 hours of practice on functional readers;

Remedial classes; for those participants who fail to gain a certificate at the first attempt; 288 hours;

Post literacy classes; those who have certificates can enter the follow-up program in the literacy center; final foundation for continuing education; 120 hours of instruction using the post-literacy readers; provides openings for night schools, distance education, educational radio or programs in the CSTC´s.

The literacy itself is delivered through a yearly phase of two rounds. Each round is of four months each. The first round is the "attack round." All those in the community above the age of eight are invited to attend classes.

The odd-numbered rounds mobilize large numbers of volunteer teachers, mostly from high schools to focus on average target populations of 1.4 million people.

Round, 2 is a "mop-up round." It include those who may have been left out during the first round or who may have failed the examination and require remedial tuition.

Typically, these even-numbered rounds deal with some .4 million people, search out those not trained in earlier rounds and provide them remedial classes.

People decided when and where to meet. The methodology of teaching is rather old-fashioned. While the alphabet chart has been redesigned to change sequences, teaching is by rote. This is sometimes justified on the ground that people expect to learn by rote; and the global method would require the quality and calibre of teachers that Ethiopia does not have for the present.

There are tests given after completition of each lesson.

There are at least three other tests before the final examination. The final examinations are prepared by the instructors themselves but are sumbitted for approval to the program coordinating committee. The final examination carries 25 per cent of total credit.

Passing percentages have been increasing as follows: Round, 1: 41.9; Round, 2: 47.7; Round, 3: 60.9; Round, 4: 69.8; Round, 5: 63.9; Round, 6: 64.3; Round, 7: 66.9; Round, 8: 65.7 Round, 9: 66.6; Round, 10: 67.3; Round, 11: 68.7; and Round, 12: 68.0. Of all those certified as literate 49.7 per cent are women. Women participants in the post-literacy programs on a regular basis are 47.2 per cent.

There are post-literacy progams for those who need them. For example as may as 7,100 reading rooms may be available according to the latest figures.

How functionality is taught

As was mentioned earlier, functionality is meant to be taught esstentially through three institutions: the Burayu Center, the CSTC´s and BDEC´s. Their performance in the role of delivering functionality has been addressed in various places in this paper. To sum, it is inadequate and needs to be strengthened.

Recruitment and training of teachers and animateurs

Both volunteers and conscripts teach. Those mobilized as teachers include students who have completed the 12th grade, teachers from schools, civil servants, armed forces, police,

retired persons, literate housewives, members of mass organizations and of religious organizations.

The original intention was to give a minimum of 7-10 days of training to literacy instructors. Unfortunately, it has now dwindled to two to three days. There is very little written material for use in training courses.

The trainers of literacy instructors get 4 days of orientation and learn how to handle materials, radio programs and peer teaching. They also receive some knowledge in agricultural skills, health, hygiene, family life and guidance, and political education. With the kind of responsibility given to PA´s and UDA´s, leadership people in them need training in problem diagnosis, local community planning, project design and implementation. But none is available.

Literacy achievements and related development claims

Ethiopia is not a country of easy logistics. It is a country of vast distances, and deep valleys and gorges. Many communities are isolated, and many are unreachable during the season of torrential rains. Infrastructures of transportation and communication are non-existent in most parts of the country.

Outputs are easier to record than outcomes of development programs. The same is true of the Ethiopian NLC that seeks to teach both literacy and functionality. Since it is much easier to give learners a reading test and record their marks than to record changes in their attitudes and skills, it is easier to get numerical data on literacy from the Ethiopian campaign than to get other data dealing with development.

During the time 1974-1986, illiteracy has gone down from around 93 per cent to around 50 per cent. The earlier more optimistic claims were revised downwards when the 1984 census found that the population had gone upto around 42 million instead of the 32.8 million estimated earlier in 1982.

NATIONAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN SUMMARY STATISTICS
(Figures in thousands)

Round / Dates		Basic Literacy		Post-Literacy (Regular Participants)		
		Participants	Certificates	Total	Male	Female
1	Jul 79 - Sep 79	6,200	1,500			
2	Oct 79 - Mar 80	500	700	589	310	279
3	May 80 - Sep 80	2,500	1,000			
4	Nov 80 - Mar 81	800	800	764	429	335
5	May 81 - Sep 81	1,500	1,400	714	396	318
6	Nov 81 - Mar 82	700	800	797	438	359
7	May 82 - Sep 82	1,300	1,200	809	461	348
8	Oct 82 - Jan 83	700	900	973	547	426
9	Apr 83 - Jul 83	1,200	1,200	876	496	380
10	Oct 83 - Mar 84	516	886			
11	Mar 84 - June 84	717	895			
12	Oct 84 - Mar 85	343	688			

Compiled from various sources.
Eighteen rounds have been planned for the total eradication of illiteracy. Blank spaces in the table above indicate non-availability of data.

In the opening round of July 1979, the target was to teach 1.3 million people in 5,000 centers and using 35,000 teachers. Within a few days, however, 5.4 million participants had enrolled. Later 6.2 million came to learn. There were then embarrassments in this great success. It caused a scarcity of instructional materials and in many classes teachers were forced to improvise and produce teaching materials locally.

The first round had been run by students during the summer vacations of three months. The third round, however, was for five months from May to October 1980, with 20,000 teachers teaching one million participants in 1,666 Peasant Associations. A five-month round was possible because only students in the last year of secondary schools and their teachers, and police, army and civilian volunteers were accepted as teachers.

For the first time in the history of the NLC, teachers were given kits of materials including uniforms, boots, blankets, umbrellas and petromax lamps. They were given free medical services and transportation facilities. Board and lodging were provided by local PA's.

Achievements in post-literacy

The most important aspect of post literacy work in Ethiopia is that they are indeed planning to have the mass literacy campaign to be followed by a "mass post-literacy campaign."

The invitation to all in the post-literacy stages is: Read to learn more. The objectives are simple: to provide education and training, of varying durations, in a variety of settings of

school, out-of-school, or at work with the objective of improving productivity in priority sectors of the economy; and to ensure that adults who have acquired literacy skills will retain it and use it.

Reading rooms and books to read. The one obvious need to fulfil has been that of books of interest to youth and adults and reading rooms where they could come and read. By the end of 1985, 7,100 reading rooms had been established and their numbers are increasing day by day. Keeping them stocked with material is not easy in the midst of a "paper famine" in the Third World. A massive production and circulation of news sheets is being considered. All production and distribution of materials is handled through the Educational Materials Production and Distribution Agency (EMPDA) which is a semi-autonomous agency of the Ministry of Education.

Radio broadcasts in nationality languages. The Department of Educational Mass Media (DEMM) is a department of the Ministry of Education and works closely with the Department of Adult Education. Information in print is supplemented through radio broadcasts. As mentioned elsewhere, there are eleven 1-kw transmitter available to the Ministry of Education for its sole use. These transmitting stations are slowly being coverted into full-fledged program stations. Educational broadcasts are made in five) languages for the time being. More and more will be added as resources permit (10). Broadcasting time allocated to adult education is estimated to be about 40 per cent.

Night schools. The younger among the new literates after their post-literacy certificates want to join formal education.

In 1984, 264,600 students (138,863 males and 125,847 females) were attending evening classes. The diploma disease is already a problem as teachers gravitate to teach in the evening schools where they make much more money than they do in formal schools; and as students try to obtain degrees by hook or by crook, without the inconvenience of having to learn. This is abetted by the current rules for salary awards that are tied to production of certificates.

Distance education. Ethiopia´s distance education program claims to serve both the formal and nonformal education sectors, but it is essentially a service to the formal edcuation sector. Most of its programming resources go to the training of untrained teachers and to secondary education certificates. In 1985, there were 3,900 students following grades 9-12. The curriculum on distance education is the same as in the formal school. For adults in this program it must be meaningless, even absurd (11).

Achievements in functionality;
and related developmental outputs

A SIDA report (12) published in October 1985 states that 406 CSTC´s had been established against the target of 588 CSTC´s -- one CSTC in each Wereda. All in all some 90,000 participants may have been trained, 16,000 of them women. What effect these centers may have had is uncertain. Because the resources of CSTC´s as well as their curriculum is quite inadequate.

The establishment of one BDEC in each of the 20,000 PA´s remains a vain hope. For the time being there are only about 300

BDEC´s in the country.

What about the use of functional skills by participants? It is impossible to gather full information on the use of skills. However, a snapshot of what might be is presented in regard to the 9th round from three administrative regions:

	Administrative Regions		
	Hararge	Gamo Gofa	Bale
Latrines dug	18,496	3,710	5,227
Refuse pits dug	17,092	230	3,003
Ponds and springs cleaned	30,875	375	526
Trees planted	29,735	32,252	160,538
Roads constructed (Km´s)	132,035	242	293
Bridges constructed	3	61	71
Gardening demonstrated (Hectares)	365	59	-
Model houses constructed	19	9	128

Similar profiles could be developed for other regions. These activities are the direct result of the on-going NLC.

Funding for the campaign

This is a campaign which is being funded jointly by the government and the people. Local contributions are collected from PA´s and UDA´s. Of these collections, 65 per cent is sent to the DAE while 35 per cent is kept locally for local expenditures. Average cost per participant at the end of the 7th round was 16.5 Birr. In 1981, Unesco asked the international

community to contribute 98 million dollars over a six year period to enable Ethiopia to eradicate illiteracy completely.

Evaluations:internal and external

The Ethiopian NLC is highly conscious of the need for evaluating the results of the campaigns. A prodigious amount of numerical data has been generated within the campaign at all the various levels of the system using some 15 diferent tables and forms. Peripatetic teams of internal evaluators visit the field and advise as they evaluate implementation.

More systematic evaluations (13) have also been undertaken that have identified a variety of problems requiring the attention of decision makers; and have tried to estimate the economic, social, cultural and political impacts of the campaign on the lives of the participants.

Inspite of limitations of data collection, responses have been found to be both interesting and promising. There are indications that participants have much greater awareness of their political environment and have acquired skills that are usable both as persons and producers. Millions of them are literate and that is important. As Comrade Mengistu said in his May Day speech in 1980: "In order to grasp the laws of nature, to forestall its wrath, and to march forward continuously towards prosperity, our starting point is the liberation of the broad masses from illiteracy."

A report on the policy review

This paper is meant to be in the nature of a "policy

review." Data for the case was collected by the author during his three week consultancy in Ethiopia in behalf of Unesco. A detailed description of the substance of the policy review is not within the scope of this paper. Only the most significant remarks emerging from the policy review can be made:

No conditions too adverse for a literacy campaign. It is simply amazing that Ethiopia should have been able to achieve the level of success that it did in its campaign for literacy inspite of the famine and the civil war raging in the country. The advice to decision makers in Ethiopia from the policy review referred to above had to be for continuity and consolidation.

Campaign fatigue. One could see among the organizers of the campaign in Ethiopia a phenomenon that can be best described as the "campaign fatigue" or the "campaign burnout." The need for a renewal of commitments and renovation of energies is obvious.

Professionalization of the enterprise. The Ethiopian campaign is a testimony to the fact that great things are possible in literacy and development through sheer common sense. As the campaign enters the post literacy stages however, commitment will have to be complemented with competence. Unfortunately, the present pool of professionally trained people within the Ethiopian campaign structures is quite low. There is little capacity in the Faculty of Education in the university to meet the needs of the NLC. The same is true of other departments in the Ministry of Education. The Department of Curriculum or Teacher Education are unable to help the Department of Adult Education in the training of their personnel. A huge institution

building effort is necessary. The establishment of a national Institute of Adult Education patterned after the one in Tanzania or Kenya; and a national college of correspondence education are two obvious candidates for a shopping list. In the meantime, the DAE needs to establish semi-permanent workshops for teacher training, for training supervisors and writers of follow-up reading materials.

Institutionalization at the field level. Strange as it may seem, Ethiopian adult education administration does not yet reach below the provincial level. There is in fact no functionary for organizing and administering adult education at the district or the awaraja level. The director of the CSTC in each awaraja is supposed to administer adult education in the district as well but this is certainly an unsatisfactory arrangement. At the field level, again, there is really no institutional arrangement for the delivery of literacy and functionality. There are, of course, literacy classes and there are reading centers. But there is no place (and certainly no work shed supplied with tools) for delivering the functional aspect of the functional literacy program.

Transitional technology. Connected with the above is the idea of introducing transitional technology within the CSTC´s and BDEC´s that do exist. In the early phases of the program it made sense to make clay pots and leather goods and hoes in these CSTC,s and BDEC´s, but now that time is past. They need transitional technology that is appropriate to the emerging technological conditions in Ethiopia. These new technologies may

include converting bio-mass into domestic fuel; carpet making by knotting; paper making by hand and paper cycling on small-scale; ink making which was an old craft in the country; soap making; and perhaps small scale printing by use of hand presses.

Existing reading rooms must develop into learning resource centers at the village level. A full-fledged BDEC should include literacy classes, reading room, listening group, science club, art shop, craft shed, outdoor auditorium, cultural post, agricultural demonstration plot, health clinic, cooperative and a post office to become an ideal learning resource center at the village level.

Print culture, and development work on the assumption of literacy. Ethiopia needs to boldly inaugurate the print culture and conduct development work on "the assumption of literacy." The alphabetization of development work is necessary. It will also require removal of the discontinuity between the fifteen nationality languages, in which literacy is taught, and Amharic which is the language of instruction in formal education, in economy and in politics.

The government should also consider publishing an almanac for farmers and workers and putting a copy in every home and hut as the secular companion to the Holy Book which still seems to be significant in the lives of the people in socialist Ethiopia.

In the same vein, the government should start an oral history project under which communites all over Ethiopia write their own histories. Some of these may be edited and published for national use. Others should be preserved in the archives established in each community. People will thus not only

practice their writing, and their creative energies, but also will develop a sense of history and will own their heritage.

Concluding remarks

It can easily be asserted that a theory and technology of the adult literacy campaign is now available. What is even more significant is the fact that campaigning for literacy is a reality in many Third World countries today. These campaigns were not always well endowed with resources and the infrastructures that supported them were not always the best. Yet, these campaigns were able to develop a calculus of ideology and technology that was able to develiver the good. Here is a lesson for those countries that are still sitting on the fence, hoping for the best possible conditions to emerge before they will launch their campaigns to eradicate illiteracy from among their people.

NOTES

1. Three government publications will be found particularly useful by the reader: Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, The National Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia: General Information. Addis Ababa, May 1980; Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, Every Ethiopian will be Literate and will Remain Literate. Addis Ababa, June 1984; and Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, Education in Socialist Ethiopia: Origins, Reorientation and Strategy for Future Development. Addis Ababa, 1984.

2. Reference is being made here to Gudeta Mammo, "The National Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia," Prospects, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1982; Gudeta Mammo and others, "The National Literacy Campaign of Socialist Ethiopia," in Bhola, H.S. with Muller, Josef; Dijkstra, Piet. The Promise of Literacy Campaigns, Programs and Projects. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983; and Gudeta Mammo, "Structures and Linkages for Involvement of Political Leadership in the Ethiopian Mass Literacy Campaign," in Carron, G. and Bordia, A. (eds.), Issues in Planning and Implementing National Literacy Programs. Paris: Unesco International Institute for Educational Planning, 1985.

3. The National Literacy Campaign of Ethiopia won the International Reading Association Literacy Award in 1980; and an honorable mention in the Krupskaya Literacy Award in 1982.

4. During December 23, 1985 to January 11, 1986, the author was invited to Ethiopia on the invitation of the Government to conduct what was described as a mid-term policy and strategy review of the Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign.

Most of the educational, economic and development data originating from the Ministry of Education of the Government of Ethiopia now reported in this study was obtained by the author during this short-term consultancy to Ethiopia in behalf of Unesco. The following documents and papers were found particularly useful: Ethiopian Government. Working Documents of UNICEF/Unesco Workshop for the Universalization of Primary Education and Literacy (UPEL), March 29 -April 2, 1984 Addis Ababa: Planning Services, Ministry of Education, Government of Ethiopia, March 1984. [Various paginations.] and " Discussion paper for the IBRD Mision, December, 1985," prepared by the Department of Planning Services. Data obtained from these and other documents have now been updated whenever appropriate and possible.

While in Ethiopia, the author worked with the Policy Advisory Group of the Ministry of Education that had become the Task Force on Literacy for the duration of the consultancy. Two papers were prepared by the Task Force in the context of this policy review: "Major Issues and Concerns in the Promotion of Adult Education Activity in the Post-literacy Phase," paper contributed by G.C. Last of the Department of Planning Services,

January 4, 1986; and "Adult Education Policy in Ethiopia," paper contributed by Gudeta Mammo of the Department of Adult Education.

Five meetings of the task force were held during the three week consultancy in addition to scores of one-to-one interviews with officials in and outside the Ministry of Education. The Task Force was inaugurated by the Honorable Comrade Billeligne Mandefro, Minister of Education and consisted of Gebeyehu Kumsa, Head, Department of Planning Services; Gudeta Mammo, Head, Department of Adult Education; Yilma Workineh, Head, Department of Formal Education; Lema Ariti, Head, Department of Teacher Education; Gebeyehu Demissie, Head, Department of Educational Mass Media; Damtew Gebru, Education Officer, Addis Ababa Region; Hailu Abe, Education Officer, Shoa Region; G.C. Last, Adviser in the Department of Planning Services; Debebe Tegegne, General Secretary, National Agency for Unesco; and other officials and aids in the Ministry of Education as required.

Field visits during the consultancy included visits to the regional headquarters of Addis Ababa and Shoa regions; Burayu Basic Technology Center; Awaraja Pedagogical Center (APC), Debub Zene; School Pedagogical Center, Abiyot Firse; Community Skill Training Center (CSTC), Lege Doki village, Shino town, Metarovi district, and the peasant association in the vicinity; literacy classes and reading rooms in various locations; and Kebele 05, Kefitegna 10 near Addis Ababa.

5. The description of the case study of the Ethiopian Literacy Campaign is based on the model of the literacy campaign developed in Bhola, H.S. Campaigning for Literacy. Paris: Unesco, 1984; and Bhola, H.S. Planning and Organization of Literacy Campaigns, Programs and Projects. Bonn: German Foundation for International Development, 1984.

6. Interesting descriptions of literacy promotion before the revolution can be found in National Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia: So that all may Read and Write, published by the National Literacy Campaign Organization, 1965; and Sjostrom, Margareta; Sjostrom, Rolf. Literacy Schools in a Rural Society: A Study of Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia. (Research Report No. 39) Uppsala: Scandanavian Institute of African Studies, 1977.

7. Gebregziabher, Betru. Integrated Development in Rural Ethiopia: An Evaluative Study of the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit. Bloomington, IN: International Development Research Center, Indiana University, 1975.

8. Unesco.The Experimental World Literacy Program: A Critical Assessment. Paris: The Unesco Press / UNDP, 1976.

9. Unesco, Joint Ethiopian-Unesco Team. Ethiopia: Education and Training Projects for Self-reliance (Settlements in Western Ethiopia). Paris: Unesco, September 1985.

10. Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, Department of Mass Media (DEMM). Radio Program Support of the National Literacy Campaign. Addis Ababa, March 1983.

11. Flinck, Rune and Flinck, Agneta W. Distance Education in Ethiopia: Report on a Planning Visit to Ethiopia, December 6-15, 1982. Stockholm: SIDA (?), 1983; Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, DAE, Distance Education Division, Distance Education in Ethiopia: Activities and Proposals for Future Development, March 1985. Also by the Distance Education Division, A Survey Study of the Problems of Distance Students in Ethiopia, August 1985.

12. Albinson, Folke; Olofsson, Irma; Salomonson, Soren. Strengthening of Community Skill Training Centers and Related Institutions in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa [Swedish International Development Agency], October 1985.

13. Junge, Barbara Jackson; Debebe Tegegne ,"The Effects of Liberation from Illiteracy on the Lives of 31 Women: A Case Study," Journal of Reading, April 1985: 606-612. Also, Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Education, Department of Adult Education. Literacy Campaign Evaluation Report on Ten Regions of Ethiopia. (Sumbitted to Unesco) November 1984; and Aberra Makonnen and others, Evaluation of the National Literacy Campaign in Urban Areas, Final Report, Phase One. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education, 1985.